

# SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

Purposely Published for Propaganda

Milwaukee, Wis., U.S.A., June 28, 1913

Sixteenth Year

No. 9

Whole Number 778

## CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

Berlin is accounted the best organized big city in the world from the working class standpoint.

The Appeal to Reason will start a monthly paper for the purpose of filling out the unexpired subscriptions to the now defunct Coming Nation.

The people in this nation constituting the SEVENTY-TWO per cent who do not own their homes ought to get together and sing that touching hymn, "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

What are we going to do for the voiceless man over twenty-one in this country? He is more numerous than many of us realize. How can we get him his right of franchise back?

Of the large sums given for charity in Chicago nearly one-half goes to others beside the poor. A case of Lawyer Marks in the Uncle Tom's Cabin show buying a two-cent candle to hunt for a lost pony!

Why has aviation had every encouragement from the nations? Simply because the hope has been felt that the flying machines could be used in the war game. Not the good of the people, not the advancement of civilization—simply the thought of butchery. That is always the rulers' idea of ruling.

After blackguarding the Socialists without let or hindrance our clerical opponents now seek to have laws passed to make it a crime to print things against church societies. We extend our sympathies to these worthies if they have been blackguarded, but they do not seem to stand fire as well as the Socialists do.

Jersey City in its innocence thought it would listen to the capitalistic reformers and adopted commission government. Result, the first election resulted in putting three gangsters into office, one anti-gang Democrat and one independent Republican. The game is to put "good" men in office where the commission dad is first entered upon, allowing a year or so before the interests get the control, but there must have been a slip-up in the Jersey burg.

Ah, ha! here you have it! Here you have a foretaste of the absolutism and the despotism that goes with the commission government scheme. In Birmingham, Alabama, there is commission rule. Clement R. Wood, member of the Socialist party, was until recently judge of the Recorder's court of that city. The building trades of Birmingham are on strike and because the Socialist recorder refused to rail road or heavily punish strikers brought before him on the flimsy testimony of thugs and professional strikebreakers the three non-partisan commissioners removed Wood from office. He was removed for refusing to allow the police court to be used as a weapon to break the strike. I respectfully refer this also to the workingman who keeps on voting the tickets of the capitalists.

The controversy over the suspension of the Coming Nation continues. Comrade Simons charges that Comrade Warren choked it off for ulterior reasons, that it was doing well, and that Warren is in the movement to make a good thing out of it for himself, having admitted to him that he was making a big sum out of the Appeal, etc. Comrade Warren then prints

I repeat, I hold no brief for the saloon keepers. They were one of the most powerful factors in defeating me for re-election. Ahd, moreover, I have always held that liquor is one of the most dangerous enemies of the working class. (Applause.)

Therefore, if it is only natural that I should reiterate on the floor of this house my belief that liquor dealers with a few laudable exceptions are the most dangerous enemies of the working class. (Applause.) It is particularly one of the worst foes of the Socialist movement. We can not reason with a drunken man. Socialists must appeal to the man's intellect. A man must be sober when he hears us. He must be a thinking man in order to be able to understand us. A man who drinks to excess can, therefore, never become a good Socialist. He must stay a Republican or a Democrat, though he occasionally may be a progressive. (Laughter.)

Moreover, we appeal to the better nature of the workingman—to his ambition, to his pride. We want to make him disatisfied with his degraded condition; but a drunken man has no ambition; a drunken man is satisfied. He is a natural slave of his master as he is a slave of his appetite. That is the reason why the Socialist parties the world over are virtually the greatest temperance organizations in existence. The Social-Democratic party of Germany has decreased the con-

sumption of alcoholic beverages in that country 50 per cent in a single year. Socialists have even decreased the consumption of beer in Munich considerably, which is going some. (Laughter.)

The Socialist parties the world over—in Germany, in Belgium, in the Scandinavian countries, in Austria, in France—start voluntary abstinence societies and temperance circles, the leaders setting the example.

I have said that they are great abstainers and great temperance men, but they are not prohibitionists. Prohibition is bad in principle. It infringes upon personal liberty. It is inquisitorial. It is an extreme measure and therefore bound to fail when it becomes the rule.

Remember, prohibition does not prohibit. It can not control appetite. If a man wants to get intoxicated, he will find ways and means to satisfy his desire. He can get intoxicated on morphine, on cocaine, or on opium. He does not have to get alcohol. If one wants to forget his misery, or if one has some illness that seems to demand intoxication, one can get it taken in some drug store, and by having the prohibition on liquor you simply foster the drug habit. Furthermore, experience has shown that prohibition makes lawbreakers—it makes lawbreaking popular. It seems to be born to man to oppose and violate the law.

In Milwaukee, of course, we have no prohibition. Our saloons keep open every day in the year, and some of them even every night of the year—at least that was the case until fairly recently. Some towns in Maine in a day than you will find in the great city of Mil-

waukee in a week.

I want it understood, that I do not like the saloon as an institution. But the saloon, like many otherills of society, is the outcome of the present economic conditions. It is the result of the profit system. And all methods of dealing with the liquor question which do not at the same time elevate the social conditions of the masses of the people and do not involve the elimination of private profit are bound to fail. Better social conditions will also strengthen the man physically.

The man with an empty stomach or a man who is ill nourished will get drunk on a glass of beer or a little glass of whisky. Moreover, he is seeking forgetfulness in intoxication. Imagine a man working 10 or 12 hours a day for \$1.75, coming home this evening to a miserable home with his wife and six or seven children. His house is in a drain, these swamps—then there will be no mosquitoes to carry the disease. We can make human beings good by law so long as we keep up rotten economic conditions, and miserable surroundings by the same laws.

This bill does not look dangerous. It does not seem to have any teeth, and contains no penalty clause. It leaves the punishment to the states. But it is a sneaky, dangerous proposal because it outlaws the liquor trade and makes no exception in favor of beer and wine. It has a ten-

ency to make a moral and legal out-

law of every man who buys or sells a glass of beer in so-called dry territory, and after all is said and done, beer and wine are the best promoters of true temperance—the natural substitutes for whisky, brandy, and other alcohol liquors. (Applause.)

Society is concerned only with the use of intoxicants. We have no right to punish men as long as they stay sober. But that is what this bill is proposing to do in a sort of roundabout way.

Moderate drinking seems to be helpful—not harmful. All nations that have greatly contributed to the civilization of the world have been moderate drinkers. Look at the English, German, French, and Italian and compare them with the Hindus or the Chinese, who are almost teetotalers.

I do not know of a great man in the world's history who was a prohibitionist unless he was great as a prohibitionist.

Washington, Jefferson, Grant, Napoleon,俾斯麦 were moderate drinkers. Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Byron, Shelley drank wine and beer whenever they wanted to drink, and their mentality was not impaired thereby.

I am against this bill, gentlemen, from every point of view. (Applause.)

The Speaker Pro Tempore from Wisconsin has expired.

house and after consideration the bill is to be divided into sections character in certain cases.

Mr. Berger—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I surely hold no brief to defend the liquor dealers. The saloon keepers and the liquor dealers—and I wish the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Johnson) would also do me the honor to listen to my simple statement—the saloon keepers and the liquor dealers of Milwaukee are as a mass our opponents and the worst enemies of our cause. The liquor dealers are opposing the cause of Socialism in every city, and there are only a few exceptions. Among the 2,200 saloon keepers and liquor dealers in Milwaukee I do not believe there are 44 who are members of our party. I do not know of a single liquor dealer in Milwaukee. Practically all the liquor dealers are patriotic Republicans or Democrats—in Milwaukee they are both at the same time.

The liquor dealers have no reason to love the Socialists. We do not spend one cent for liquor during election. We had been in power hardly 10 weeks when we closed up 114 saloons, more than had been closed up in Milwaukee by the Democrats and Republicans combined in the 65 years of Milwaukee's existence.

## EMIL SEIDEL TELLS OF HIS CHAUTAUQUA TOUR

DEAR COMRADES: This is the fifth week that I am on my tour for the Redpath Chautauqua, debating Socialism.

It was not until we got into Chautauqua that my opponent, J. Adam Bede, began to present much of an argument.

After Chattanooga he began to study Socialism. His sources are: "A Nation of Fatherless Children" (Goldstein-Avery) and a book written by one Tunselman. I don't whether he has ever seen a book written by a Socialist. So you may gather what kind of a debate this really is.

In many places we have met some Socialists. These are more than delighted with the "debate". In two places men came up to me and told me after the meeting that they had never heard a Socialist speak and that they are now ready to become Socialists. They had never heard of Socialism before and there were no Socialists in these places. This was in Georgia and Alabama.

I speak every evening to audiences ranging all the way from 1,000 to 1,600 mostly men and women with a sparse sprinkling of children. The Chautauquas draw most generally from a citizenship which we in our propaganda do not reach until our movement has become very strong. Very few of those who would benefit most by a change come out, for the worker who receives 90 cents to \$1.25 can not afford to pay 35 cents for a lecture.

figures to show that the Coming Nation was a drain upon his purse and that he did not feel justified in again asking the comrades to help when he saw no chance of ultimate success for the paper. He represents the total loss of the paper for a little over two years at \$14,800, claiming it lost \$4,000 this year. To this comrade Simons reports that he has a complete record of all receipts and disbursements and that the Appeal owner has covered up some \$6,000 that should have been figured in, and he asks that an investigation be made of the books. The entire matter is regrettable, and it is unfortunate that the Coming Nation has suspended just now when the machinations of the anarchists who wormed their way into the party call for papers that preach true international Socialism.

They are lively old girls, those British suffragettes. Lively and cantankerous. Their idea is to make themselves nuisances and terrors and to thus force the nation to give them the ballot in order to get them off its nerves. Nevertheless, their conduct is indefensible. They believe they ought to have the ballot. They want others to believe so. Since they live in a country where they have the right to free speech and the right of free press, they have all reasonable means for trying to convert others to their views. Having these they forfeit all respect when they go farther and resort to violence and destruction—to destroying the letters of innocent people by pouring acid in the mail boxes, by burning down buildings in public gardeons, or by desecrating places and buildings that are revered by the people because of their former associations, and sure to be resented, just as the people in this country would resent the militant burning

At one place a comrade told me that there were about 18 workingmen sitting under the trees outside of the enclosure.

"Wouldn't speak loud enough so they could hear? They get no more than 25 cents a day and can't afford to pay the price."

You might know that I tried to make them hear and they heard.

How many I reach every evening that way squatting on the other side of the canvas, I can not tell. But wherever I find a Socialist or two they tell me that it is the best thing that could have hap-

pened.

It was against these that men in their dispair banded themselves together and on horseback, masked and armed, swooped down upon their crops in the dark of night setting a match to what would burn and trampling under foot the rest.

At Hopkinsville a warehouse belonging to the tobacco trust was destroyed by the night riders.

On my way to the station this morning

an old gray-headed man hailed me on the street. He introduced himself as a comrade. He is a typical Southerner of ante-bellum days—tall, erect in bearing, genteel in manners, a heavy head of snow-white hair and whiskers to match.

He did the speaking.

"I am one of those that were indicted. We had all the people with us. A lady friend who knew the judge told me to go and see a certain man about my case. This man she claimed was a good friend to her family and also well acquainted with the judge. I was let off with a fine of \$50. Later on I found out that the man I went to see was an agent of the tobacco trust."

By this time we arrived at the station.

Opposite the station and across the tracks is a square with walks and young trees and shrubbery. A sign with 3-inch lettering reads: Peace Park.

"On that ground my father-in-law built the first tobacco warehouse in the state. That was before the war. The night-riders burnt that. It was the property of the tobacco trust. The city bought the land and turned it into a park. It is now called PEACE PARK."

After a while he said: "I don't look for peace until the people own all the trust property."

A far-away look was in his eye. A whistle shrieked. "Your train is coming. Good-by, Comrade!"

"Good-bye!"

I was deeply impressed with the earnestness of this man. Once he had lost all he possessed. Once he fought against progress for slavery. He lost. Now he fights for progress against slavery. He wins. Verily—the spirit of Socialism works miracles.

The last I saw of him was when I stepped on the rear platform of the coach. The train was rounding the curve.

There he stood waving his hat, his head bare. In the morning sun his white hair glistened like silver.—Or was it the hope of peace which radiated from him. I do not know.

they do not do their bidding. It certainly makes a difference whose ox is gored. The passing of such laws opens up great opportunities in various ways. Capitalism could very nicely use such enactments to stifle criticism of its oppressions of the people, the trusts could menace their victims with such laws, easily passed after the church has made the entering wedge look virtuous and necessary, and all the bootblacks of capitalism could follow up the advantage by putting muzzles on all political papers that dared to pry into their affairs or to awaken the people into needed vigilance.

All this would be possible, nay, even probable—but the really interesting thing about the new move is, as I have said, the church in question, after its years of lying about Socialism and Socialists now

would enact laws that would also shut its own mouth and padlock its own editors, laws that could probably be turned against it by those

it has so ruthlessly damned.

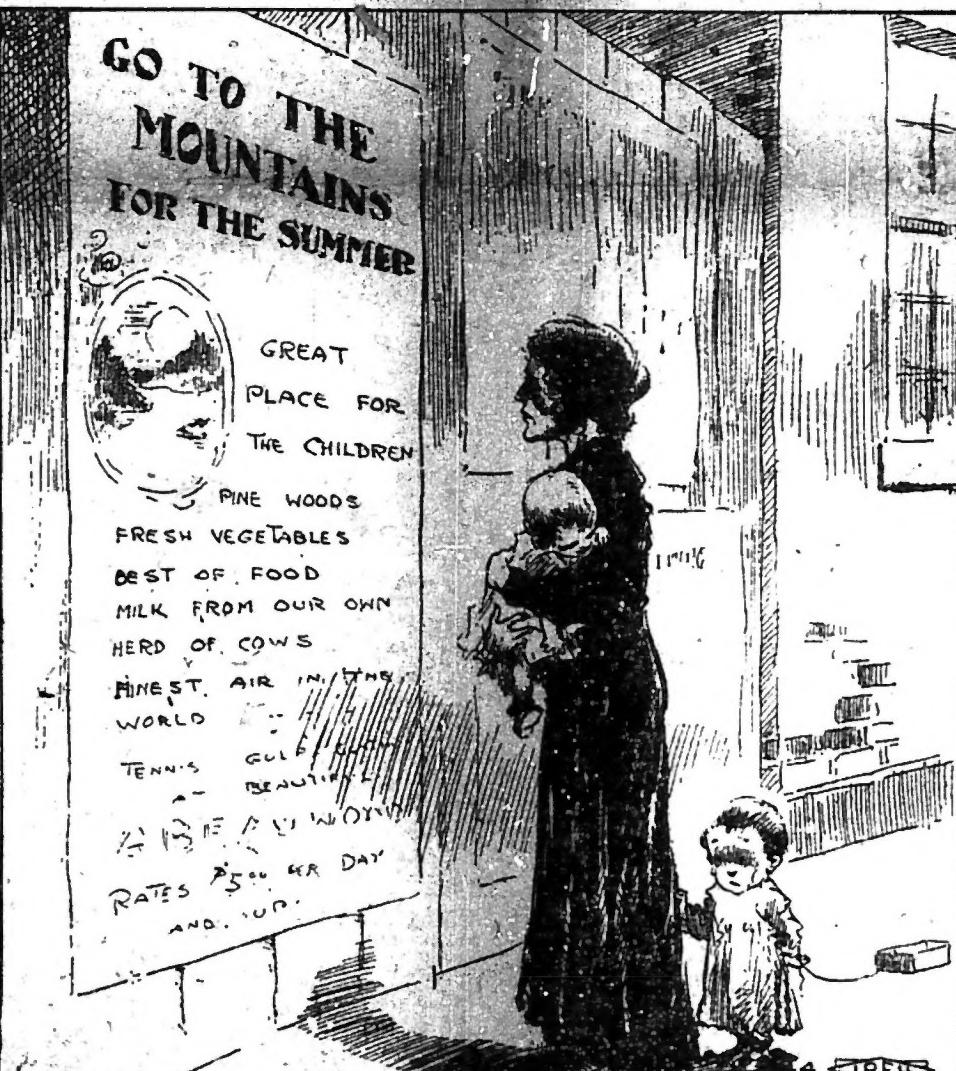
There is one problem, purposely kept out of public consideration by the plutocracy; that must be solved sooner or later, and Socialists are trying to solve it. I refer to the large and growing number of workmen and voters who are shifted about this expansive nation year after year by the exigencies of the capitalist job. A machinist, a bright, alert citizen, may be employed in one industrial center today, tomorrow he may be forced in, in order to secure employment to journey hundreds and even thousands of miles to another, almost changing his city and state residence within twenty-four hours. Result, next election finds him virtually a disfranchised citizen. Or he may be a molder, or a structural ironworker, a printer, or a railroad man. What right has the United States to deny this man a voice in government? By what right is he deprived of his right to say by whom he would have the country governed? Thousands and thousands of men, the pick of the working class, i.e., of the common people, are thus political outcasts in their own land on every election day.

What can we do about it? The Socialists in various state legislatures are introducing bills aimed at laws to correct the monstrous wrong, but the fight to have the laws become effective will be a long and a stubborn one.

It is still a big problem, but the capitalist press says nothing about it. Such a situation is against public policy. It is against the welfare of the state. Men denied their right to express themselves politically by the ballot may drift to express themselves in unlawful ways.

Anarchism is recruited very often from the man who has no vote or who is not yet a citizen. The L.W. when it started up, and before it began to get crooked and to go to its decline, caught many well-meaning men who were by industrial shifting deprived of the right to vote. Our Socialists must agitate this question and make it a public one, must force general attention to it. Let us have letters and articles on the subject. The first idea that suggests itself is that of local registry offices where men forced to go to other places must be reported, under penalty of law, by their employers, or report themselves and be given governmental credentials enabling them to qualify for the right of the ballot in their new location within a given number of days. There is still another class I have not mentioned that is vitally interested in this matter. It is the class of commercial travellers. And still another—the actors. We must force this big question to the front.

## FOR THE FRUGAL!



## TEXT OF THE BERGER SPEECH IN CONGRESS ON THE LIQUOR QUESTION

[By Request.]

The house and after consideration the bill is to be divided into sections character in certain cases.

Mr. Berger—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I surely hold no brief to defend the liquor dealers. The saloon keepers and the liquor dealers—and I wish the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Johnson) would also do me the honor to listen to my simple statement—the saloon keepers and the liquor dealers of Milwaukee are as a mass our opponents and the worst enemies of our cause. The liquor dealers are opposing the cause of Socialism in every city, and there are only a few exceptions. Among the 2,200 saloon keepers and liquor dealers in Milwaukee I do not believe there are 44 who are members of our party. I do not know of a single liquor dealer in Milwaukee. Practically all the liquor dealers are patriotic Republicans or Democrats—in Milwaukee they are both at the same time.

The liquor dealers have no reason to love the Socialists. We do not spend one cent for liquor during election. We had been in power hardly 10 weeks when we closed up 114 saloons, more than had been closed up in Milwaukee by the Democrats and Republicans combined in the 65 years of Milwaukee's existence.

I repeat, I hold no brief for the saloon keepers. They were one of the most powerful factors in defeating me for re-election. Ahd, moreover, I have always held that liquor is one of the most dangerous enemies of the working class. (Applause.)

Therefore, if it is only natural that I should reiterate on the floor of this house my belief that liquor dealers with a few laudable exceptions are the most dangerous enemies of the working class. (Applause.) It is particularly one of the worst foes of the Socialist movement. We can not reason with a drunken man. Socialists must appeal to the man's intellect. A man must be sober when he hears us. He must be a thinking man in order to be able to understand us. A man who drinks to excess can, therefore, never become a good Socialist. He must stay a Republican or a Democrat, though he occasionally may be a progressive. (Laughter.)

Moreover, we appeal to the better nature of the workingman—to his ambition, to his pride. We want to make him disatisfied with his degraded condition; but a drunken man has no ambition; a drunken man is satisfied.

He does not have to get intoxicated on morphine, on cocaine, or on opium. He does not have to get intoxicated on beer or wine. If one wants to forget his misery, or if one has some illness that seems to demand intoxication, one can get

# The Progressive Woman

is the only Socialist women's magazine in the United States. It is constructive, educational and inspiring. Because it is full of vigor, aspiration, the spirit of freedom, finely illustrated and splendidly written, it

## Should Be in Your Home

Yours for a year at 50 cents; in clubs of four or more, 40 cents. Subscribe NOW.

Address THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN, 5445 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

## THE THOROUGH LITTLE SOCIALIST

A Set of Ten Carefully Selected Books to be read in the following rotation:

- No. 1—Ameringer—Socialism, What It Is and How to Get It .20
- No. 2—Ameringer—Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam .10
- No. 3—Ameringer—Communism, Socialism & the Church .10
- No. 4—A. L. Benson—Socialism Made Plain .15
- No. 5—Ameringer—Socialism for the Farmer .10
- No. 6—A. L. Benson—The Usurped Power of the Courts .05
- No. 7—K. Kautsky—The Class Struggle .25
- No. 8—Panekkoek—Marxism and Darwinism .10
- No. 9—Fred Engels—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific .15
- No. 10—K. Kautsky—The Road to Power .25

Total . . . . . \$1.35

### SPECIAL SALE!

The complete set POSTPAID, "ONE DOLLAR." Single items sell as quoted in the list. Please order by number.

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.

### DO YOU KNOW?

Everyone of these books used to sell at:

\$1.50 NET.

### Fifty Cents a Copy

at the price we ask.

Mailing Charge 15¢ a. Each Book.

THE JUNGLE, Sinclair . . . . .	50
CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, Rauschenbusch . . . . .	50
POVERTY, Hunter . . . . .	50
REVOLUTION AND OTHER ESSAYS, London . . . . .	50
WAR OF THE CLASSES, London . . . . .	50
WHY I AM A SOCIALIST, C. Edw. Russell . . . . .	50
SOCIALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, Hillquit . . . . .	50
Total . . . . .	\$3.50

Anyone ordering these seven titles will receive "GRATIS" one copy of "THE DRAGNET," a detective story of merit. Send \$3.50 and we will express these seven books to your address.

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.

## Henry Ashton

By ROBERT ADDISON DAGUE

Attorney-at-Law.

This thrilling little story, written in a fluent and attractive style, with enough love affairs worked in to make it palatable and interesting, carries a strong argument for Socialism on every page. "Henry Ashton" places before the reader all that may be said and done on the greatest question of socialism. Every argument that can be offered against Socialism is treated fairly, and each in its full strength. This is a very effective book in the hands of those calling for "light" reading. Buy now.

Cloth Binding, Good Paper, Clear Print, 355 Pages—Price 50 Cts.; Paper Cover, 25 Cts.

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., Book Dept.

Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.

## THIRD EDITION A BOOK Unique and Instructive!

### Ex-Congressman Victor L. Berger's Broadsides

is a volume consisting of Fifty Striking Editorials on live issues from the viewpoint of Socialism. All of them clear cut, concise and lucid.

Whoever seeks information on the philosophy and policies of the Socialist party, will find Berger's Book the best as well as the easiest road, leading to an understanding of Socialist aims and ideals.

Nearly all of the burning questions of the day are treated in this volume, and the studious reader will find him self in a position to proceed intelligently from Berger's Broadsides to a thorough examination of Socialist principles. Moreover, he will be able to apply these principles himself to all questions of the past as well as of the present.

The reader of Berger's Broadsides will find his faculty of judgment on public affairs sharpened, and he will develop a judgment for matters economic and political.

The Price of This Book Is \$1.50 Postpaid. Write for Quantity Rates.

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

BOOK DEPARTMENT

Brisbane Hall

Milwaukee, Wis.

## THE COMICAL HUMILIATION OF THE MILWAUKEE ANTI-SOCIALISTS

The "nonpartisan" administration of Milwaukee has offered for sale \$475,000 of municipal bonds bearing a 4½ per cent rate of interest. It is reported in The Free Press that there have been no bids. We quote:

"Milwaukee, through the public debt commission, offered for sale \$475,000 in city bonds bearing 4½ per cent interest, but there were no bidders, owing to the tightness of the money market."

This is quite different from the experience of the Social-Democratic administration. When Mr. Seidel was mayor bonds were sold at 4½ per cent interest. In every instance, the issues were overbid and sold at a substantial premium.

The "nonpartisans" thought the Socialists ought to have done better and were quite sure that the credit of the city had been injured by the fact of a Social-Democratic administration. But now we find that with "nonpartisans" in office, the city's credit has utterly evaporated.

The explanation is that the "money market is tight." But our "nonpartisan" officials inspire no confidence in face of the fact that we were told that with Bading in the office of mayor, Koteki controller and Carney treasurer, Milwaukee's credit would be "restored."

Is it possible that the value of municipal bonds is not determined by the squalor of the "non-partisan" politicians?

When Mr. Seidel was mayor of Milwaukee there was no newspaper hereabouts that was more concerned in "restoring" Milwaukee's credit and saving it from the "disgrace" of a Social-Democratic administration than our contemporary, The Sentinel. It had a very severe attack of devotion to the flag and its patriotism was as pronounced as was Editor Pfister's conviction that free hides were essential to the perpetuation of our liberties when the Payne-Aldrich act was in process of incubation.

The Sentinel, after having manifested keen distress over Milwaukee's "black eye," which was followed by a special edition so glorying the rejuvenated municipal credit and business activity that it could perceive following close upon the heels of the election of Bading, Carney and Koteki to the respective municipal offices of mayor, treasurer and controller, is now moved to confess that they have no control over the money market and that the credit of the municipality does not depend so much upon who holds the office as upon who will pay the highest rate of interest upon like collateral.

Discussing the inability of the "nonpartisan" administration to market bonds at a rate of interest which, under the Socialist administration, were sold at a premium, with every issue overlaid, our contemporary quite humbly is moved to the explanation:

"Our own modest impression is that the differences in the demand for our municipal bonds very accurately reflects the corresponding differences in the general bond market at the respective times."

The Sentinel thinks that The Leader is engaged in trying to make its readers believe that the "nonpartisans" have destroyed Milwaukee's credit. It is in error. Our endeavor has been to show that there was no warrant whatever for the outcry against the Social-Democratic administration and that, if there was, then a "nonpartisan" administration is proven by its inability to sell any bonds at all, to be far more destructive of municipal credit than a Socialist administration. In doing so we have brought The Sentinel and the "nonpartisan" politicians to our aid. We are content that they should complete the undertaking and convict themselves of being shameless slanderers of the best administration that Milwaukee ever had. They are somewhat belated in acknowledging it, but better late than never.—The Milwaukee Leader.

## THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

The man who really made the present constitution, in the sense that his brain supplied all of the distinctive features that differentiated it from all other federal constitutions—the ashes of this man lie in a forgotten grave in a Philadelphia cemetery. His name was Pelatiah Webster. He was a prosperous merchant, a native of both Daniel and John Webster, a graduate of Yale, a financier, economist of high standing, yet, for a hundred years, his name was almost as nearly forgotten as if he had never lived. To this day probably not one American in 100,000 has ever heard of him. That a few have now heard of him is due to the painstaking research of Hanns Taylor, diplomat and historian, whose works on the origin and growth of the English and the American constitutions have won him a reputation as broad as the domain of the English language.

Pelatiah Webster had a good deal to do with the story I am trying to tell, as I shall set down some facts about him. On February 16, 1783, he published in Philadelphia a pamphlet entitled "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the United States which is Necessary to their Preservation and Happiness." In this pamphlet, an original copy of which is in the library of congress in Washington, Webster urged the necessity of calling a convention to draft a new constitution and outlined, at great length, the kind of a constitution that he favored. James Madison, a member of the constitutional convention and afterwards president of the United States, referred to Webster and his pamphlet as follows (Elliot's Debates, Vol. 5, p. 117):

"Pelatiah Webster is an able though not conspicuous citizen after discussing the fiscal system of the United States and suggesting among other remedial provisions, one including a national bank, remarks which are authority of congress at present in very great detail, as to the performance of their duties; and this indicates the necessity of calling a continental convention for the purpose of ascertaining, defining, enlarging and clarifying the duties and powers of their constitution!"

Mind you, Pelatiah Webster, though he advocated and outlined a new constitution at least four years before the assembling of the constitutional convention, was not a member of that body. But his fundamental, revolutionary ideas of a federal government, as he had worked them out before, were placed boldly in each of the three plans that were presented to the convention for a new constitution. They were in the so-called Virginia plan, of which Madison was regarded as the author, and the Pinckney plan, both of which were presented to the convention at its first business session. They were in Alexander Hamilton's plan, which was presented in New Jersey. Webster's plan, however, was aimed at nothing but the pinching-up of the old articles of confederation. But they are in the institution of the United States as it stands today. Mr. Hanns Taylor enumerates and comments upon them as follows ("The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution," p. 172):

"A federal government with independent powers of taxation."

"The division of the federal head into three departments—legislative, executive and judicial."

"The division of the federal government into two branches."

"A federal government with delegated powers operating directly upon the citizen, the residuum of power remaining in the states."

"The reason is, the unconstitutionality of many preceding federal systems as a modern mogul engine is from an ancient stagecoach."

Now, what did this man who had so much to do with the making of the constitution think about the courts? Did he believe in the creation of a supreme court that should have the power to destroy acts of congress? Did he believe in the creation of a congress that should have no power to enforce its own will against the opposition of the supreme court?

These questions go pretty nearly to the roots of our constitution and fortunately, Pelatiah Webster, in his draft of a constitution, did not say much about the courts. He advocated the establishment of a federal judiciary, but he

never even suggested that it should have power to invalidate acts of congress. Yet Mr. Hanns Taylor, who is the author of the above, says that Webster believed that only the approval of the people was necessary to put the "final stamp of irrevocable authority" upon acts of congress!

So one might go through Webster's pamphlet, picking out paragraphs that revealed his state of mind. It is true that the paragraphs sometimes refer to problems that arose during the convention, "that does not matter."

Webster laid down broad principles: "Angus bodies that cannot enforce their own laws are contemptible," he said in substance. Quite so. And it matters not whether that august body be the congress of the United States armed not only with original jurisdiction to terminate and finally decide controversies arising between different states but also with an appellate jurisdiction in cases of great moment on the same reasons that such appeals are admitted in all the states of Europe."

It may seem presumptuous to differ from the re-discoverer of Pelatiah Webster as to what he thought about anything. I should not do so, were it not for the fact that Pelatiah Webster himself told us what he thought about some things and left a record of what he thought. In view of the fact that even Mr. Taylor did not contend that Webster ever said that he favored a supreme court that should have the power to set aside acts of congress, what may we reasonably infer as to Webster's attitude from such remarks as these, all of which are taken from his famous pamphlet of 1783:

"We are or ordinances of any kind (especially of august bodies of high dignity and consequence) which fail of execution, are much worse than none; they weaken the government; expose it to contempt." (How many acts of congress and the various state legislatures "fail of execution" because the supreme court has not given it a final decree?)

"A government which is but half executed, whose operations may be stopped by a single vote, is the most dangerous of all institutions." (A single vote—that of Justice Shiras—"stopped the operation of the government" in its effort to enforce the income tax law that congress had enacted.)

"I do not mean to give these great

ministers of state a negative on congress" (Webster was speaking not of judges, but of cabinet officers. In no other place did he use the expression "negative on congress," and here he used it to show that he did not advise the giving of such power, at least to the cabinet; nor did he elsewhere ever suggest that he would advise that the supreme court should have the power to declare acts of congress unconstitutional.)

"Having made no other provision for the setting aside of acts of congress that might be regarded as unconstitutional, what did Webster mean by this?" Did he not mean that the people should be given power to set aside acts of congress for any reason or for no reason? If so, he meant that the people might destroy such laws as they regarded as unconstitutional. If he meant that the people should have supreme power over their laws, he could not have meant that the supreme court should have such power.

Furthermore, in writing upon the desirability of giving the states power to compel congress to repeal objectionable laws, Webster said:

"The reason is, the unconstitutionality of a majority of states affords a strong presumption that the act is wrong, for unconstitution arises much more frequently from wrong than right." (If Webster believed that the people should have the right to destroy even good laws, if they objected to them, did he also mean that a supreme court should also have the power to destroy good laws to which the people did not object?)

Let him speak for himself:

"If every act of congress is subject to this repeal [that is, if it is repealed upon petition of a majority of the states] it will be itself null, save in so far as it may be able to do harm to the country."

He goes on to say that he believes that the people should have the power to destroy acts of congress for any reason or for no reason? If so, he meant that the people might destroy such laws as they regarded as unconstitutional. They have found irresponsible power is abused when it lies in the hands of traction magnates as when it lies in the hands of princes.

There are two ways of getting this work done. One consists in rewarding private concerns for doing it. The other consists in the undertaking of it by the people themselves. The first is the old-fashioned method. The second is the one which for obvious reasons is coming more and more into vogue. The people have found that they can not trust transportation monopolies in the hands of kings and overlords. They have found irresponsible power is abused when it lies in the hands of traction magnates as when it lies in the hands of princes.

Accordingly, they are beginning to back this power, which is theirs by the great primal law of democracy. Cleveland has accomplished what San Francisco is now trying to do. The movement toward world-wide trade and toward economic democracy. San Francisco will be proud some day when it points to Geary street, knowing that on that street the people of San Francisco first demonstrated that their destinies should not be ruled by the United Railroads or by any undegraded power whatsoever.—San Francisco Bulletin.

There is economic reason in the fact that the girl whose family

has means and some social position

is much less liable to meet a misfortune than her poorer sister. She is better safeguarded in every way

imaginable. The woman on the town, of course, is the one who has means to support her. Her parents take care of her. They hide her shame. Its fruit is lost, often seduction, has to look for work.

She cannot live without work. Her shame is known.

Young O'Brien, in his own words, said he "smelled a rat" when they were being thus marched from one train to another in Washington, and

asked to be permitted to go to a restaurant to buy a sandwich, then to be permitted to go and see a friend in

the same place.

Young O'Brien, in his own words, said he "smelled a rat" when they were being thus marched from one train to another in Washington, and

asked to be permitted to go to a restaurant to buy a sandwich, then to be permitted to go and see a friend in

the same place.

Young O'Brien, in his own words, said he "smelled a rat" when they were being thus marched from one train to another in Washington, and

asked to be permitted to go to a restaurant to buy a sandwich, then to be permitted to go and see a friend in

the same place.

Young O'Brien, in his own words, said he "smelled a rat" when they were being thus marched from one train to another in Washington, and



Every Saturday



SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

Published by the

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC  
PUBLISHING COMPANY

BRISBANE HALL, 6th &amp; Chestnut Streets, Milwaukee, Wis.

FREDERIC HEATH VICTOR BERGER

Editor Associate

The Herald is Not Responsible for Opinions  
of its Contributors

Entered at the Milwaukee Post Office as Second-Class Matter, August 26, 1901.

LONDON, Eng.—London newspapers today have awakened to the fact that they have been victimized to the extent of many dollars by an entirely new game—that of "bomb finding." The suffragette bomb outrages started it all.

The method adopted was to plant a "bomb," covered with suffragette literature, in some public place, and then "find" it, and after turning it over to the police, run to a newspaper office and sell the "story" as an exclusive.

Many newspapers throughout England have fallen for the stunt and today the police are on the lookout for dozens of "bomb finders."

BERLIN, Germany.—Prussia is now confronted with a gigantic political strike if the movement which is steadily growing in Socialist circles crystallizes into action and the threats of an attempt to force the government to carry out its promised reforms of the election laws are carried out.

Dr. Frank, one of the Socialist leaders in the reichstag, served notice at a mass meeting of Social-Democrats that if the electoral reforms referred to are not carried out by a specified time the Socialists will resort to a general political strike. Dr. Frank's announcement confirms the recent intimations made by Dr. Liebknecht, another Socialist leader in the reichstag, that the government would soon decide to yield strength and power to the Socialists.

The Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, declares that the Socialists will soon talk to the government in "a Belgian spirit," referring to the recent general strike in Belgium for political rights.

RONALD LETTE, Pa.—For the first time in the history of Potter county the recall has been voted by an electorate of an elected official. In the election of 1911 the Socialists swept the entire township ticket. Some of the elected officials did not qualify, but the election board, school directors and constable took office.

The membership considered they had a grievance against the constable, and at the regular May meeting it was decided by a unanimous vote to accept the resignation of the constable. The resignation was accordingly presented to the president judge of Potter county. The reasons for the branch accepting the resignation were explained to the judge and he accepted the resignation and on May 1 a new constable was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Ronale is the first town in the county to elect a Socialist to office, and as it has now been shown that it is possible to remove a man from office under the Socialist plan there is no doubt but the carrying of other election districts by them is only a question of another election.

A young preacher picked up Bishop Pierce's hat and put it on his own head, and it was exactly a fit.

"Why, bishop," he said, "your head and mine are exactly the same size."

"Yes," replied the bishop, "on the outside."—New York Call.

## WAR

The war is for the patriot.  
The worker pays the cost.  
The dead pay for the soldier.  
He is battle won or lost.

The widow and the orphan  
Get almost all the woe.  
The general gets the glory  
Of conquering the foe.

The dogma of war weakened.

Lost what they're built for.

By stronger neighbors gobbled—

And that my son, is war!

—Chicago News.

## THE EXCITEMENT IN FRANCE.

Serious opposition has been aroused among French soldiers and members of the Socialist party in the French assembly by the law increasing the time of military service for conscripts to three instead of two years. We read in the French press that in the garrison at Nancy 16 soldiers have been tried for uttering their opinions against this new ordinance and 18 non-commissioned officers have been reduced to the ranks for conniving at such rebellious utterances. At Toulouse 15 soldiers made an open demonstration against the new law. The same dissatisfaction has been manifested in various corners of the Republic. The Republican-Democratic party in the national assembly has placarded Paris with a declaration in favor of the new law.

The new law is favored strongly, too, by Mr. Clemenceau, in the daily *Hommme Libre* (Paris), in every issue of which appears an article over his name. In one such we read:

"Is not it evident that the measure for which Mr. Barthou, the minister of war, is being blamed in many quarters is nothing more than a wise provision for the future and is really intended to be no more than a safeguard against the inferiority of our army and of our general military situation?"

Mr. Leon Bourgeois also approves the army increase. He said at a recent meeting of the national congress of peace that Germany has made the proposed law absolutely necessary. To quote his words:

"The first fact that struck us with alarm and might lead us into discouragement is that the law at this moment before the reichstag increases the armament of Germany to a formidable degree, and makes it necessary that France should make extraordinary efforts and great sacrifices in order not to be left behind."

Which leads the *Paris Figaro* to remark:

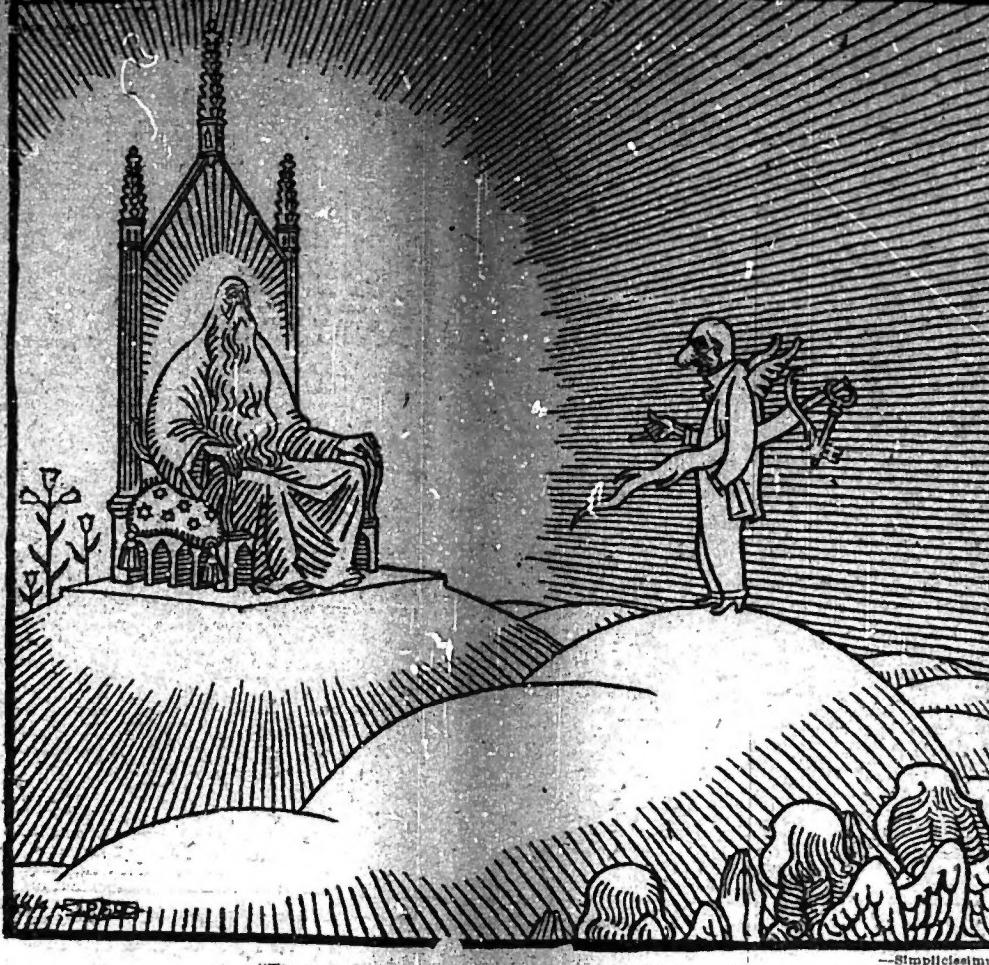
"We may hope that the Radicals and the Radical Socialists of the chamber of deputies, who are making common cause to defeat this measure, will yield themselves to the arguments put forth by good leaders in the legislative body."

Speaking for those Radicals who are opposed to the law, l'Humanité (Paris) says:

"We have had enough of this hypocrisy. There is no need at present of such a law. When the legislature in former times has foreseen exceptional circumstances which made the executive take such measures of safety, we could approve of such action, but now there is no such occasion. Criminals are those followers of Mr. Barthou who think that such an emergency is at present before us.)

The Republican party should deeply ponder the gravity of the decision which they are now called upon to make. The whole army is interested in that decision, and the whole army, as we are told, to be a reformed army, an army reformed as to its

## PIERPONT MORGAN BEFORE GOD'S THRONE!



That chair is very nice. How much will it cost?

## SEIDEL APPOINTEE'S BIG VICTORY!

Carl M. Ringer is building inspector of the city of Milwaukee. W. D. Harper, whom Mayor Bading attempted to promote to the office from the position of assistant, after having discharged Ringer on the pretext that he had committed an illegal act, is an interloper, and has absolutely no title to the office.

This is the effect of the decision of Judge Frank Ross, Superior, handed down late Tuesday afternoon in Judge Turner's court, in which Judge Ross is sitting.

The victory of Ringer is complete, the court deciding for him on every point. Judge Ross declared that Bading dismissed Ringer without justification and in violation of the due process of law; that Ringer was not in neglect of duty in granting a permit for remodeling a building at 216 Grand avenue, the charge on which the mayor dismissed him, and that Ringer did not relinquish his office, as the attorneys for the mayor and Harper charged.

Because the evidence was so overwhelming against Mayor Bading and his appointee, the judge banded down his decision without hearing the arguments of counsel. He intimated, however, that he would grant a stay of proceedings on such terms as the attorneys for Ringer and Harper might agree to.

There is much humor in the effects of the decision, although it is doubtful whether any "patriotic non-partisan" can see it. Harper is assured of having performed nearly a year's work without salary, as under the decision Ringer has been building inspector during all this time. Ringer will receive upward of \$2,000, the building inspector's salary, which Harper has figured on getting. Whether Harper can be paid the \$100 a month he got as an assistant inspector, or the theory that, not being inspector, he drops automatically into the old job, is an open question.

Pay Has Been Held Up.

Harper has received no salary as building inspector, the controller's office having held up the payrolls since Bading tried to appoint him City Attorney. Having refused to give an opinion as to the legality of the appointment. In fact the city attorney declared that he was not familiar with the case, the mayor not having seen fit to consult the city attorney's office at any time.

Here again is another humorous angle.

The mayor is pretty generally understood to have told Ringer he was discharged following consultations with Bading and his attorneys.

Bading chose boys of the city's big financial interests, and after a hasty peep into the city charter,

Just how much the "inspired" legal

advice of outside attorneys is costing the mayor is of no moment to the public, but it is pertinent to observe that it is costing the city thousands in fruitless litigation. In view of the record of the city attorney's department against The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company, T. J. Neely [light] plant injunctions, etc., it would seem that Bading might do worse than ask its advice now and then, even though he may be very eager to "get something" on Socialist Democratic appointees. No doubt, however, the "private attorneys" need the money.

Witnesses Disprove Charge.

Architect Alexander Eichwald, one of the last witnesses called, testified that after he had the building at 216 Grand avenue strengthened upon order from Ringer, it was practically plumbed and that the building would have remained safe for many years. This was particularly true, he said, because the building would not have had to bear as large a load if used for restaurant purposes as when housing a store and lodger rooms.

Architect Howland Russell, who inspected the building for John Fox at the time there was some question as to the probability of the wall falling, declared the building was at no time in danger of falling and that Ringer was within his rights in granting a permit.

John Saxe, owner of the building, said that the wall was not torn down at Harper's request, as the attorney for Harper tried to make out, but was based on his own initiative because of a change in the plans whereby he decided to build a new structure.

## SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS, MONEY ORDERS, ETC., TO  
MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY  
TELEPHONE GRAND 2839. Private Telephone system. When operator answers, give name of person or department desired. H. W. HISTON, Business Manager.  
Office Hours: 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. Sundays 9 A. M. to 12 Noon

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:  
One year, \$5 cents; six months, 25 cents.  
No paper sent to anyone unless paid in advance.

If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed and paid for by a friend. Foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$10 per year.

100 copies or more, per hundred, \$5.00.  
1,000 copies or more, per thousand, \$5.00.

Five copies, 3 months to one address, 12 cents.  
Five copies, one month to one address, 12 cents.  
Ten copies, one year, to one address, 12 cents.

ADVERTISING RATES furnished on application. We reserve the right to terminate any advertising contract without notice.

Bill of exchange on subscriptions received from outside the city of Milwaukee are acknowledged by the NUMBER ON THE WRAPPER. To that separate receipts are never sent.

## NOTICE—To Change Address

First.—Always give both old and new address.  
Second.—Return wrapper in which the paper went to old address.  
If you will follow these instructions there will be no delay in getting your paper to your new address. The return of the wrapper with the old and new address eliminates all complications.

## The Builders' Column

By A. W. Manco

## THE LONG, STEADY PULL COUNTS.

The Socialist press as we have it in Milwaukee is no accident. It is the result of many years of hard, patient, plodding work.

The Social-Democratic Herald is one of the old timers in the Socialist newspaper world that has weathered all the storms and left aggressive and effective organizations wherever it has been used for propaganda, educational and organization purposes.

One subscriber, in a letter renewing his subscription and sending three new ones to make a club writes:

"I take many Socialist papers, but prize The Social-Democratic Herald most because it is always aggressive, always sane and gotten up in a way that appeals to men's intelligence as well as their instincts of justice and right. It is the paper I always use when I want to reach the mind of persons looking for light on the reasons for Socialism."

Every Socialist should be a missionary for the cause in his or her community.

All around you are men and women crushed by the grind of capitalist exploitation. They are filled with unrest and discontent. They will be Socialists and Socialist workers just as soon as they know what Socialism is and what it seeks to accomplish.

Every copy of the Social-Democratic Herald tells the story your neighbor and shopmate needs to know in a dozen different ways, calculated to reach all types and classes of men and women.

We can get out the paper in untold quantities. But we can't reach those neighbors and shopmates of yours without your assistance.

Go after a club of four for \$1.25. If you haven't a regular blank just write the names on any piece of paper and send them along.

You can get a bundle of any quantity at the rate of one-half cent a copy.

Will you help spread the light?

62

## OUR YOUNG FOLKS

Young Folks  
in Action

Contributions solicited. Write briefly.

## YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUES

MILWAUKEE.—A few notes on the baseball team of the North Side Young People's Socialist club will convince the Socialist leagues of the different cities in the United States of the wonderful work that can be accomplished by training and diligent practice. Since the baseball team was organized, which was the first of May, the team has won two games out of five.

The team is now perfected that the last game which was played on June 14, between the North and South Side Young People's Socialist clubs showed that the North Side was beat by a score of 2 to 0. The game was a two hit game, therefore our readers can realize what good team work is being done by the North Side team.

The batteries of the North Side team to this date have been: Ed. Gunderman, pitcher, and Charles Spaeth, catcher. The rest of the lineup is as follows: Harry Stemwell, first base; Walter Perlich, second base; Lefty Marquardt, third base; Harry Gage, left field; William Spaeth, center field; Edwin Spaeth, right field.

In the game between the North and West Side clubs on Decoration day, the North Side beat the West Side by a score of 4 to 1.

The club is at the present contemplating on getting baseball suits for the baseball team. Other athletic features like a tennis team for the girls and the fall a basketball team, one for boys and one for girls will be organized.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Feeling that the University of California is maintained by the people of California, not for the purpose of breeding scabs, but for the purpose of raising the standard of living through the proper training and education, the Y. P. S. L. of Oakland at their regular meeting Friday night in Rice Institute passed drastic resolutions against the manning of the power plants of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. by students and professors of the university.

It was felt that the time was ripe for American universities to clear themselves from the stigma of contempt in which they are held by the workers throughout the world as strike breakers.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Since Comrade Wile gave us the talk on dabating our young folks have put their minds seriously upon the subject. I think I am right in saying that the Buffalo Young People are waking up to the importance of dabating as a Socialist exercise, and doubtless before very long we shall be engaged in a debate with their stants. We have been dabating twice in debate and want to meet them again, for they are a great bunch. All over the country to get busy at

## Puzzles

An Ameringer pamphlet on Socialism will be given for the best list of words from the letters of the words:

YOUNG JACK TAR.

The best list from the words "United States" was sent in by Alfred Walter Auctas, Klamath Falls, Ore., who is given the prize offered in No. 14.

## OUR YOUNG FOLKS

Every Week.

VOLUME 2

MILWAUKEE, JUNE 28, 1913

NUMBER 19

## A YOUNG MAN - O' - WARSMAN

PART III OF THE STORY OF HANS.

BY MARTIN GALE.

(Continued from No. 17.)

## CHAPTER XII.

Visit From a President.

PORT AU PRINCE, the capital of the Haytian Republic, is situated at the foot of a large bay. On the right side of the bay are some very high hills or mountains, but the land to the left is more level, though some high mountains behind it look up like a dark cloud. The town, though somewhat picturesque, is not very attractive, for the buildings which were of any importance or had some architectural beauty, had been burnt or destroyed during the late revolution, that had just been put down.

The inhabitants are mostly negro and mulatto, and Hayti having once been a colony of France, the language spoken is French. Liqueur, coffee, and other tropical products are exported. The natives have an eye to business and a stranger landing there pays double the usual price for fruits, etc. The natives wore very light clothing and the younger pleckanines had nothing but their skin on.

There were several Haytian men of war at anchor in the harbor and a son of Rear Admiral Cooper, U. S. A., was supreme in command.

The revolution